1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole tribe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence [685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

In Tarim: Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

In Seiyun: Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

1 [The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 21

Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court.

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer.

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed.

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of

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tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class. The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

5: Hamilton G-S (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

to rule them because he has a government, which is true. He says that our policy of recognizing them as small independent units, and according them rights as such, is a mistake.

However, we are committed to that policy. We have treaties with them promising them protection, and we intend to maintain these treaties. So we have to face the question of how to promote progress and development and the benefits that we feel we can confer on communities which are so divided and in many cases under such a very flimsy form of authority.

Perhaps Mr. Hamilton could say what he thinks on this point.

Mr. HAMILTON: I think that it is useless to bring in any sort of progressive service, as Sir Bernard Reilly says, until peace has been made. It sounds easy enough to make peace. The men are intelligent and very poor, and they know that their feuds and war hurt them and no one else; but it is not so easy as all that, and the trouble is tribal honour. "If I make peace first, my honour has gone." You are up to the neck in that.

There is a way of making peace, and that is if your Political Officers are sufficiently numerous and well enough known; one man cannot be in three or four different mountains at the same time, and when he is going from mountain A to mountain B, mountain A goes on the rampage again. I do not see why some of these Political Officers should not be Arabs who know the country sufficiently well and can get down to conferencing, and so approach the matter from that angle of tribal honour.

The first argument will be: "No, nothing will induce me to make peace. That man killed my uncle." Then you say: "Suppose a really strong government came and made you make peace, like the Imam's Government or us?" He will say: "What can I do against a strong government?" You say: "Here is the big government. I am it." I do not think you will have much need to use force. The less force used, the better. I think force can be used in quite small parties on the ground, recruited from the tribes themselves in most cases, and not by imported troops.

On that basis I think you can make peace, and it is being made already very much on that basis in the Hadhramaut. Once that peace is made these men are perfectly capable of working up not only to a progressive form of society, but eventually, in my opinion, to self-government.

I have taught Scottish soldiers to use the machine-gun, and have also taught Arab soldiers; when I came to teaching ballistics and ballistic formulæ for night shooting, I found the Arab learnt in a week, while the Scottish soldier took ten weeks and more.

Once they are given pacification the Arabs will forge ahead.

I said to one fellow: "You Arabs are all mad."

He replied: "Oh no, we are not, but some time ago our house fell upon us and now we are struggling under the ruins of it."

I asked: "What can you do about it?"

"Nothing," he answered, "because we are inside. But you are outside. You can make a hole in it."

"What sort of a hole?" I enquired.

"Security," he answered. "You force security down our throats and we will thank you for ever."

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam*.[1] The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—"Peace be upon you" and the other replies "And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-batn* or "stomach price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-batn* is sacred with the other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes? Indigenous? Of African origin? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this:—"Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us?

The following discussion took place after the paper:—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs—in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their external appearances—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height—showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Bauthars would recognize the *rabia* at all.

22: Reilly G-8 [1933-41] 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
MIDDLE EAST ISLANDS (2)
Socotra.

Socotra has also a good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth